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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to describe, document, and analyze the classroom management techniques an elementary school teacher uses to establish and maintain group norms. An analysis of the data collected for a teacher who used a group process approach to classroom management is presented. Two types of norms were observed operating in classroom groups: informal and formal. Formal norms are established by an authority figure and stated in the form of rules. This paper analyzes the development of informal norms in a classroom and describes the classroom management techniques used by the teacher to establish and maintain formal norms, or rules. Teacher standards for acceptable student behavior, teacher expectations for individual performance, and the teacher's framework for instruction are examined. Rules established by the teacher for classroom behavior are organized into five categories: (1) rules that regulate student behavior outside of the classroom; (2) student talking in the classroom; (3) the care of classroom materials; (4) group cohesiveness; and (5) classroom work procedures. The data generated 15 findings related to the teacher's use of rules and the students' role in the process of establishing and enforcing rules. (JD)

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AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER'S ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF GROUP NORMS

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Classroom management, the establishment and maintenance of conditions in which instruction can take place effectively and efficiently, is an essential element of teaching. A review of literature on teaching indicates that classroom management is a major concern to both preservice and inservice teachers. Instruction and management normally occur in group situations. Individuals who are concerned with improving teaching effectiveness need to understand the collective behavior of students.

The group process approach to classroom management takes into consideration the collective behavior of students. The classroom is viewed as a social system in which group processes are of major importance. Group process theory is derived from the principles of social psychology and group dynamics. The development of norms is one aspect of group processes. Norms are expectations or attitudes which a group considers appropriate. Classroom norms affect student involvement in instructional activities as well as the quality of interpersonal relationships among students (Schmuck and Schmuck, 1975). To manage students effectively and efficiently, teachers need to help groups to develop and maintain productive norms of behavior. Thus, teachers need to understand the development of group norms in classrooms.

Little research has been reported on the development of group norms in classroom settings. Most of the available research has investigated the dynamics of norms in settings other than classrooms. Those observational studies which have looked at norms in classroom

groups have focused on the type of norms developed rather than on the process of norm development. There exists a need to study the development of norms in classrooms and the procedures used by a teacher to establish and maintain group norms.

Two types of norms operate in classroom groups: informal and formal. Informal norms develop as a result of group interaction and of group pressures to conform. Formal norms are established by an authority figure and are stated in the form of rules which convey a sanction for adherence or nonadherence. The purpose of the study reported in this paper was to document and analyze the development of informal norms in a classroom and to describe the classroom management techniques used by the teacher to establish and maintain formal norms, or rules.

The study grew out of Study C of the Effective Teacher Education Program at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development.[1] Six ethnographers, including one of the authors, were trained to observe three carefully selected classroom teachers. The ethnographers were paired into teams of two and alternated observation periods to cover the entire teaching day. They were trained to collect data pertaining to teacher standards for acceptable student behavior, teacher expectations for individual performance, and the teacher's framework for instruction. Descriptive narratives of raw data called "protocols" portray a focused picture of an entire day's events for the teacher and the class. The protocols were generated by copious notetaking during the ethnographers' observation periods. The notes were dictated onto cassette audiotapes and later transcribed into

typed scripts for analysis. This paper reports the analysis of data for one of the teachers who uses a group process approach to classroom management.

The teacher was selected by a peer nomination process as one of the more outstanding teachers of mathematics at the fourth grade level in her school district. In addition to being nominated by her peers, the teacher later was judged to be as effective or more effective than the average fourth grade teacher in the district based on district-wide comparisons of standardized mathematics achievement scores for 78 fourth grade classes. The teacher has 20 years teaching experience and holds a Bachelor's degree in Elementary Education. The students assigned to the teacher were fourth and fifth graders of above average ability. The elementary school in which the study was conducted is located in a large metropolitan area on the West Coast.

An analysis of the data generated 15 findings related to the rules established and maintained during the seven week study. The findings are grouped according to rule establishment and rule maintenance.

FINDINGS RELATED TO RULE ESTABLISHMENT

Finding #1

Thirty-two rules were established. Of these, 22 (68%) were verbalized by the end of the sixth day and the others were established by the end of the first month.

Analysis: Sarason's study (1971) generated a similar finding. In five of the six classrooms he observed, most of the rules were clear to the students by the end of the first month. The establishment

of rules is an important dimension of classroom management because it is one of the mechanisms by which teachers convey expectations of appropriate student behavior. Therefore one would expect to find that teachers establish rules fairly soon in the school year.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine to what extent this finding and those of Sarason (1971) generalize to other classrooms.

Finding #2

Of the 32 rules established during the first seven weeks of school, no student ever played a part in the decision-making process of rule establishment.

Analysis: The teacher had stated prior to the study that she believes that students who have a part in establishing their own rules will feel an obligation to carry out their share of the responsibility for maintaining those rules. This philosophy is consistent with the thinking of Palardy and Mudrey (1975) and Good and Brophy (1973) who suggest that teachers should involve students in rule establishment to encourage student commitment to the rule.

McDermott discusses the necessity for teachers to extract a commitment from students to follow rules established by the teacher. McDermott (1977:204) states that "teaching is invariably a form of coercion" in the sense that in some way teachers must force students to conform to teacher expectations. Some teachers handle this coercion directly as authority figures and others handle coercion indirectly from a guidance orientation; they encourage students to believe that the students are contributing to the decision-making

process. The teacher who is the subject of this paper followed a general procedure of rule establishment. She stated a rule, probed the students for reasons underlying the rule, and asked various students to summarize the rule. The teacher's probing and summarization behavior along with her statement that students should take part in establishing the rules seemed to suggest that perhaps the teacher did involve the students in the rule establishment process. However, a closer scrutiny of the interaction between teacher and students revealed that the students did not take part in the decision-making process of rule establishment, but rather in the maintenance of rules. Apparently the teacher was able to use indirect coercion to maintain an illusion that students were participating in the rule establishment process. In fact, the teacher indicated during one of the summary tapes of the fifth week that she felt that she was forcing students to adhere to her wishes and was not allowing them any input into decisions involving their behavior.

Implication: The implication for further research is that teachers may be using indirect coercion to coax students into complying with rules. If this finding is generalizable to other teachers, researchers might want to determine to what extent teachers use indirect coercion to coax student compliance to rules. Another implication for further research is to determine to what extent students are aware of indirect coercion on the part of a teacher. One may speculate if there are advantages of indirect coercion over direct coercion in terms of more effective classroom management.

Finding #3

An authority figure other than the teacher established 47% of the rules. In all but one instance this authority figure was the principal. The only rule which was the exception was established by the district music curriculum supervisor.

Analysis: These rules which were categorized as "rules regulating behavior outside the classroom" generally dealt with procedures to be followed in school areas other than the classroom. Typically the authority figure established the rules in writing as typed memorandums which were placed in the teachers' mailboxes. The memorandums included directions to the teachers to read the rules to their students. The teacher's voice and non-verbal behavior as she read the memorandums to the students indicated that she considered these rules important. Frequently she would comment to the students: "Let's be serious. These are important."

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine to what extent the role of the authority figure in establishing rules generalizes to other schools. Researchers might wish to determine whether the percentage of rules imposed by this authority figure is typical or unique. An additional implication is to determine to what extent the procedures for conveying rules to teachers for distribution to students followed by the authority figure in this school generalize to authority figures in other schools. Researchers also may wish to investigate the extent to which the teacher's manner in establishing rules given by another authority figure affects the response of students in adhering to the rules. If the teacher does not demonstrate enthusiasm and support

for these rules, perhaps the students may tend not to take the rules seriously.

Finding #4

There were "invisible" rules understood and adhered to by the students which were not apparent to the observer until stated by the teacher well into the study.

Analysis: Mehan (1974) suggested this finding which the data support. The teacher did not post a list of rules at the beginning of school, but established rules as events occurred requiring their implementation. There were several rules, for example, which existed from the previous year, but which were not stated until there were situations requiring a regulation. One of these rules stated that students were not to play in the courtyard area during recess. This rule remained invisible until the third week when students entered the courtyard area during recess while the teacher was on playground duty. When the students returned to the classroom, the teacher said that she had noticed that several students had run into the courtyard area to play during recess. The teacher asked the students: "What are you not supposed to do?" The class replied in union: "Play in the courtyard." The observer was not aware that this rule existed because no events had occurred which required its implementation. Yet, the students all knew what to tell the teacher about not playing in the courtyard.

Another rule stated that students were to bring a written note from home if they were absent from school. This rule was not voiced by the teacher until the seventh week of school. One of the boys had

been absent and the teacher asked for his note. His reply indicated that he was aware of the rule's existence. Possible explanations for this situation of "invisible" rules are that the teacher ignored these rules until the third and seventh week because she did not consider them important, or there might not have been infractions of these particular rules until the third and seventh week.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine if "invisible" rules exist in other classrooms. If they do, researchers might investigate how students know about the "invisible" rules. If such rules are a carryover from previous years, how do new students discover them? Perhaps these rules are communicated to students by means other than the teacher's oral declaration.

Finding #5

The 32 rules established by the teacher may be organized into five distinct categories. These categories include rules which regulated student behavior outside the classroom, student talking in the classroom, the care of classroom materials, group cohesiveness, and classroom work procedures.

Analysis: Forty-six per cent of the established rules regulated student behavior outside of the classroom. These rules were established by an authority figure other than the teacher. Rules regulating student talking in the classroom comprised 15% of the total. These rules governed when the students could talk, how much they could talk, and how they were to contact the teacher to ask or answer a question. Two rules, 6% of the total established, regulated the care of classroom materials. Students were responsible for

straightening the room every day and for handling school equipment and classroom materials properly. Two rules, representing another 6% of the total established, encouraged group cohesiveness. Students were told to work together in instructional activities and to participate in classroom meetings to discuss interpersonal relations. The remaining nine rules, 27% of the total established, regulated work procedures in the classroom.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine if the categories of rules found to exist in this classroom exist in other classrooms. Are there certain types of rules that are generic to all classrooms?

Finding #6

Ten (31%) of the rules that were established required waiting on the part of students.

Analysis: Students were required to wait in lines before entering the classroom and the cafeteria, to wait to ask or answer a question until the teacher acknowledged their raised hands, to wait for the teacher to give directions before they could proceed to work on a new activity, to wait at the chalkboard to be dismissed from mathematics drill, to wait to be dismissed from the cafeteria and the classroom, to wait for other students to clear their desks before everyone was allowed to leave for recess or lunch, and to wait for specific occasions to talk with their friends. Jackson (1968) drew similar conclusions from data he collected in classrooms.

Implication : The implication for further research is to determine the extent to which students are engaged in waiting in

other classrooms and whether teachers are aware of the amount of time spent in waiting by students. Students differ in their tolerance for waiting. Perhaps a student's willingness to adhere to rules is related to his capacity to tolerate waiting.

Finding #7

Many of the rules stressed student behavior related to work norms similar to those of business and industry.

Analysis: Many of the rules stressed student behavior which developed competence in following directions, accepting responsibility, working quietly and productively in crowded circumstances, maintaining an orderly working environment, keeping records, and responding to authority figures with a cooperative attitude. One of the teacher's rules actually stated that students are to be productive. Students were required to read a minimum number of pages each reading period, complete a minimum number of pages in mathematics, memorize a minimum number of spelling words, and accomplish tasks each class period. Even when students were drawing pictures in art or playing with clay, they were told to produce a finished product.

Grannis (1967) compares the structure of schools to models of society. Of the three models which he describes, the "factory type" applies to the classroom in the study. Students in the factory school are expected to think in terms of production.

Dreeben (1968) suggests that schools are unique as socializing agents for later work experiences in adult society. LeCompte (1974) found four work norms predominant in the classrooms she observed.

Implication: Investigators are discovering that norms similar

to business and industrial norms exist in classrooms. The implication for further research is to determine how pervasive work norms are and if their function is to facilitate a successful adaptation to the business and industrial world of adult society.

Finding #8

When no rule was established to guide students in determining appropriate behavior in a particular situation, the students modeled more assertive classmates.

Analysis: At the beginning of the school year students were not told if they needed the teacher's permission to leave the classroom to go to the bathroom, to get a drink at the fountain in the classroom, to sharpen their pencils, to chew gum or to eat candy. The teacher had said in her preactive interview that she was not going to impose many rules on the students, but wanted to let the students work out solutions to situations described above. Mehan (1974) suggests that teachers typically leave many teacher expectations for appropriate behavior unstated. He describes one strategy which students use to cope with the uncertainty of not knowing how to behave as "imitating responses." Students imitate the responses emitted by other students. This was the case in the classroom observed. Students who tended to be assertive behaved in a confident manner and other students followed their lead. An example is an incident occurring before recess. The bell rang. A black male student picked up a volleyball and said as he was walking out of the room: "We can go out, teacher?" He continued walking and the teacher did not tell him to stop. The other students looked at the

teacher. When the teacher did not object to the student's leaving, the other students left the classroom.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine to what extent student leaders play a role in influencing the behavior of other students in issues related to classroom management.

Finding #9

The teacher established rules which specified contingencies for other rules.

Analysis: The teacher established a rule that encouraged students to be cooperative, to share with each other, and to help one another. This rule was established in the context of instructional activities. Three other rules required that students were not to share their songflutes, they were not to help each other during test situations, and they were not to share or trade food in the cafeteria.

The degree to which students master rules should involve partially their competence in accounting for contingencies. Perhaps the student who is more competent in adjusting to teacher rules is the one who knows when to tell the difference in conditions requiring compliance to a particular rule.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine the extent to which student mastery of rules depends upon student ability to interpret contingencies correctly.

Finding #10

No student ever questioned the establishment of a rule.

Analysis: The teacher established 32 rules without ever being

questioned by any of the students about the necessity of a rule. Spady (1976) suggests that students comply voluntarily and automatically with requests from teachers on the grounds that teachers are adults, are official representatives of the school system, are personally appealing, and are knowledgeable.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine what factors are involved in student compliance to teacher rule establishment. One might speculate if the age of students makes any difference in their acceptance of rules.

FINDINGS RELATED TO RULE MAINTENANCE

Finding #11

Students played an important role in determining which rules were modified, differentially applied, or inconsistently maintained by the teacher's adaptation to their acquiescence or resistence to rules.

Analysis: Hunt (1976:268) refers to the influence on teachers as "student pull." Hunt suggests that teacher adaptation to student pull is the heart of the teaching-learning process. The teacher in the study reacted to student pull by differentially applying four of the rules, modifying one rule, and inconsistently maintaining three rules.

There were a number of students for whom the teacher differentially applied the rules. Carlos, Ted, Bobby, Mary Ann, and Sharon were identified by the observer early in the study as students who had a strong potential for resisting rules. Carlos, Ted, and Mary Ann were

aggressive, nonconformists who seemed to enjoy directing attention to themselves and being disruptive. Bobby and Sharon, on the other hand, behaved in an asocial manner. They seldom participated in interactions with other students and were off-task for a large percentage of the time. Sharon interacted with Mary Ann at the beginning of the study, but this interaction was largely due to Mary Ann's dominance of Sharon. The teacher recognized these students as nonconformists early in the study and mentioned this in her daily summary tapes. However, the teacher did not engage in a confrontation of authority versus student submission. Instead she applied rules differentially to these nonconforming students. Bobby, for example, was late four consecutive mornings. On the first morning the teacher enforced the rule which stated that students who were not in the classroom by 8:00 A.M. were to report to the office for a tardy slip. Bobby reluctantly agreed to go to the office and the other students teased him about his reluctance to go. When he came in late the next three mornings, he seemed to be embarrassed and uncomfortable about being late. The other students reminded him to go to the office. He came into the classroom, sat down at his desk, and ignored their comments. The teacher looked at Bobby but did not say anything. Later she remarked in the daily summary tape that she thought that Bobby must be having problems at home and she was not going to add to his problems by forcing the issue of the tardy slip.

Carlos and Ted, who sat next to each other, and Mary Ann and Sharon, who sat next to each other, resisted the rule which stated that students could sit wherever they chose so long as they did not

talk excessively, or disrupt the work of those around them in any way. These four students talked continuously, joked with each other, and disrupted the work of students sitting near them. The teacher had indicated that if this rule were violated, the offenders would have to move to separate sections of the classroom. Other students who did not adhere to this rule were told to move, but the four students mentioned above were allowed to remain where they were sitting. The teacher spent an hour in total time over a two week period discussing their disruptive behavior with them. The teacher told these four students that it was up to them to make a decision about how to handle their seating arrangements. They continued the disruptive behavior. In her daily summary tape the teacher commented about this situation saying that she did not intend to enforce the rule with these particular students because they needed to make the decision to move apart on their own. Four weeks later the two sets of students were separated. The teacher emphatically told Mary Ann and Sharon to move their desks apart. Carlos and Ted were separated by an accident which befell Carlos. Carlos "broke his head" and was out of school for over a week recuperating from a number of stitches in his scalp. His absence gave Ted time to settle his behavior. When Carlos returned, Ted voluntarily moved his desk away from Carlos.

On another occasion Ted was playing with a toy car during a reading lesson. His behavior violated the rule which stated that students were not to play with toys during class. The penalty after two warnings by the teacher was confiscation of the toy. The teacher did not apply the usual warning procedure to Ted, but told him that if

he wanted to play he should go over to the mattress. (This mattress was placed on the floor and students occasionally sat on it to work on their class assignments.) Ted responded to the teacher's suggestion by putting the toy car inside his desk.

The teacher modified a rule which stated that students were to line up in the mornings as well as after recess and lunch. Her modification was in response to 14 students who wandered into the classroom without lining up one morning before the 8 o'clock bell. The students came into the room and sat down in an orderly fashion. They talked quietly with each other or read books. The teacher did not make them go outside to line up when it was time for the morning bell to ring. The other students who had remained on the playground did line up. From that point small groups of students did not line up in the morning but wandered into the classroom before the 8 o'clock bell.

There were three additional rules applying to group interaction which were maintained inconsistently. Rule #19 stating that students were to raise their hands if they wanted to ask or answer a question was not maintained with any degree of consistency whatsoever. When all of the students wanted the teacher's attention simultaneously, the teacher responded with "Raise your hand." But after saying this on several occasions, within minutes Carlos or one of the more assertive students would walk up and talk to the teacher without her mentioning that they should raise their hands for attention. On one particular occasion, Mark talked to the teacher without raising his hand; Bobby and Sharon walked up soon after and were told to raise their hands; Billy raised his hand and was ignored.

Rule #26 which stated that students were not to proceed with a new activity until the teacher had given directions was not maintained with any degree of consistency. Frequently the teacher's directions were lengthy and an outside interruption would occur. Some of the students waited, but others proceeded on their own.

The third rule which was not maintained consistently prohibited cheating on tests. During test situations, the teacher did not say "Don't cheat" but instead commented that there were "people who had big eyes" and "people who needed to keep their eyes on their own work." These comments had no effect on students who were copying from each other. When several students commented that others were cheating, the teacher told the group that their purpose in coming to school was to learn and they did not learn when they cheated. She also suggested that students would be happier with themselves if they did not cheat. As the study progressed, the teacher ignored incidents of cheating. When students brought up the fact that others were cheating, the teacher said that cheating was a problem that belonged to the individual and it was not her responsibility to correct them.

The point illustrated by the inconsistency of the teacher in maintaining these three rules is that as student resistance increased, the teacher became less consistent in maintaining rules. Thus, the teacher's maintenance behavior was strongly influenced by student resistance to particular rules. Rules to which students offered little resistance encouraged consistent maintenance behavior on the part of the teacher. Rules regulating student behavior outside the classroom were resisted the least by the students and were the most consistently

maintained by the teacher. Another rule which the teacher consistently maintained required students to clear their desks of books, papers, and materials before proceeding to other activities. The students adhered to this rule with almost no resistance and the teacher was consistent in maintaining the rule.

There is an interesting link between Finding #10 discussed under the rule establishment section, and this finding. Finding #10 indicated that no student ever questioned the establishment of a rule. This would lead one to conclude that the students in the study willingly accepted the rules established. Yet Finding #11 indicates that students in the study played an important role in determining which rules were modified, differentially applied, or inconsistently maintained by virtue of the fact the teacher adapted to the degree to which students acquiesced or resisted. One may speculate that students may not resist rules established overtly. Indeed, they may appear to accept or acquiesce to the establishment of the rules. But when the teacher attempts to maintain the rules, patterns of overt resistance may occur.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine the extent to which students influence teacher rule maintenance in other elementary classrooms. If the finding is generalizable, researchers need to look at how teachers differ in their susceptibility to Hunt's concept of student pull.

Finding #12

In maintaining the 32 rules, the teacher seldom rewarded adherence to a rule. In fact, the teacher chose to reward student adherence to

only four rules with teacher praise.

Analysis: This finding relates to the literature on behavior modification. Briefly, the essence of this approach to classroom management is to reward appropriate behavior and to punish inappropriate behavior. Appropriate behavior may be rewarded with teacher praise; tokens that can be exchanged for toys, candy, or an item the student particularly enjoys; or material incentives such as stars or stickers posted on charts, and certificates of achievement. The teacher may also reinforce appropriate behavior by allowing students to choose an activity which they prefer if they complete an activity assigned by the teacher.

In a review of studies on the effectiveness of behavior modification techniques with students, Dunkin and Biddle (1974) report evidence that suggests that positive reinforcement is more effective than negative reinforcement. Dunkin and Biddle report that most of the studies reviewed were experimental in nature and do not report process occurrence. Given that positive reinforcement has been found to be more effective than negative reinforcement, one might expect that teachers should be encouraged to use forms of positive reinforcement. Dunkin and Biddle (1974) suggest that perhaps teachers already provide a great deal of reinforcement to students and therefore do not need to be encouraged. Was this the case with the teacher observed? Of the 32 rules established, she chose to reward student adherence to only four rules. These four rules are:

Rule #18: Students are to be quiet when the teacher asks for attention.

Rule #20: Students are responsible for seeing that the room is

left in good order at the end of the day.

Rule #22: Students are to help each other with classwork.

Rule #27: Students must clear their desks of papers, books, and reading materials before the teacher will dismiss them for lunch or recess.

The teacher chose only one rule to reward with teacher praise, certificates, and stickers posted in charts in the classroom. She also encouraged adherence to this rule by allowing students extra recess time (an activity of their choice), if they adhered to the rule (an activity which she chose). The rule was: Students are to be productive during class time.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine to what extent teachers use positive reinforcement. Students in the classroom observed received no positive reinforcement for adhering to 81% of the rules established.

Finding #13

The teacher used peer pressure to maintain five of the rules.

Analysis: In the literature discussing behavior modification, peer pressure is described as a technique applied not to the individual student, but rather to a group of students who are rewarded or punished as a unit. Advocates of this technique suggest that the teacher can recruit students to serve as co-reinforcers who bring pressure on their classmates to adhere to the rules.

The following rules were maintained with peer pressure:

Rule #18: Students are to be quiet when the teacher asks for attention.

Rule #20: Students are responsible for seeing that the room is left in good order at the end of the day.

Rule #24: Students are to be productive.

Rule #27: Students must clear their desks of papers, books, and reading materials before the teacher will dismiss the class for lunch or recess.

The teacher did not praise the group when students adhered to any of these rules, but on occasions students were allowed extra time on the playground. The teacher was not consistent in rewarding the group with extra time and the students could not depend on receiving extra time if they adhered to the rules. The teacher applied punishment by deducting time from lunch or recess if students did not adhere to the rules.

Dunkin and Biddle (1974) suggest that peer pressure has not been studied extensively. One might expect that peer pressure would be used by fourth and fifth grade teachers because of the strong interest in conforming to the peer group which begins to develop at this age.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine to what extent teachers in other elementary classrooms use peer pressure. Researchers may want to compare the effects of peer pressure on different age groups to determine whether there are advantages to this technique which increase with the age of the groups.

Finding #14

Two students who were quiet and appeared to be conforming to instructional requirements were found upon closer observation to be as much off-task as those students who were obviously disruptive and

nonconforming.

Analysis: Bobby and Sharon were identified early in the study as quiet, but nonconforming students. They did not interact with the other students, but seemed content to fill their space in the classroom. The teacher had to remind them to remain on-task frequently, but did not monitor them unless they wandered around the classroom. It was assumed that when they were sitting quietly at their desks, they were absorbed in learning tasks. However, the ethnographers gathered shadowing data on these two students and discovered that their seemingly task-oriented behavior was unproductive. The data indicate that even when these students appeared to be busy, they were not accomplishing tasks related to learning. Apparently these two students were highly skilled in masking nonproductivity.

Rosenshine and Berliner (1977) address this situation of student engagement time in academic activities in their review of basic skill development in reading and mathematics. Their findings indicate that student achievement is directly related to the amount of time students are academically engaged. They suggest that teacher monitoring is essential to keep students engaged in academic activities.

One would conclude from Rosenshine and Berliner's (1977) findings that students who are actively engaged in academic activities achieve more than students who are off-task. Thus, teachers should be concerned with maintaining all of the students in academic engagement. This finding suggests that students who are quiet and appear to be on-task may be as much off-task as students who are obviously being disruptive and nonconforming.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine to what extent this finding generalizes to other classrooms. In addition, researchers might speculate if elementary school teachers who consistently produce student achievement use monitoring methods which are different from methods used by less effective teachers.

Finding #15

Of the 32 rules established and maintained by the teacher, five developed as informal norms adhered to and maintained by a majority of the group. These five group norms related to securing tardy slips when late to class; being quiet when the teacher asked for attention; putting the room in order at the end of the day; helping each other with classwork; and clearing desks of materials, books, and papers before leaving the room or moving to another academic activity.

Analysis: The teacher observed was considered to be an effective classroom manager. There were no incidents of students challenging the teacher's authority; the teacher never had to resort to extreme punishment; and a majority of the instructional activities were carried out smoothly. Group process theorists pose that one of the major tasks of the teacher is to encourage students to develop informal norms which correspond to rules established by the teacher. However, this study was able to identify only five informal norms developed by the group which coincided with the teacher's rules. This raises the question of the degree to which means other than the development of informal group norms help teachers in being effective classroom managers.

Implication: The implication for further research is to determine to what extent the percentage of informal norms developed in this classroom are representative of other classrooms. One might speculate if there are particular types of rules that are more easily developed into informal group norms.

The previous section of this paper has discussed the 15 findings generated by an analysis of the data on rule establishment and maintenance. The next section of this paper will present a model which was developed to describe the classroom management behavior of the teacher in the study.[2]

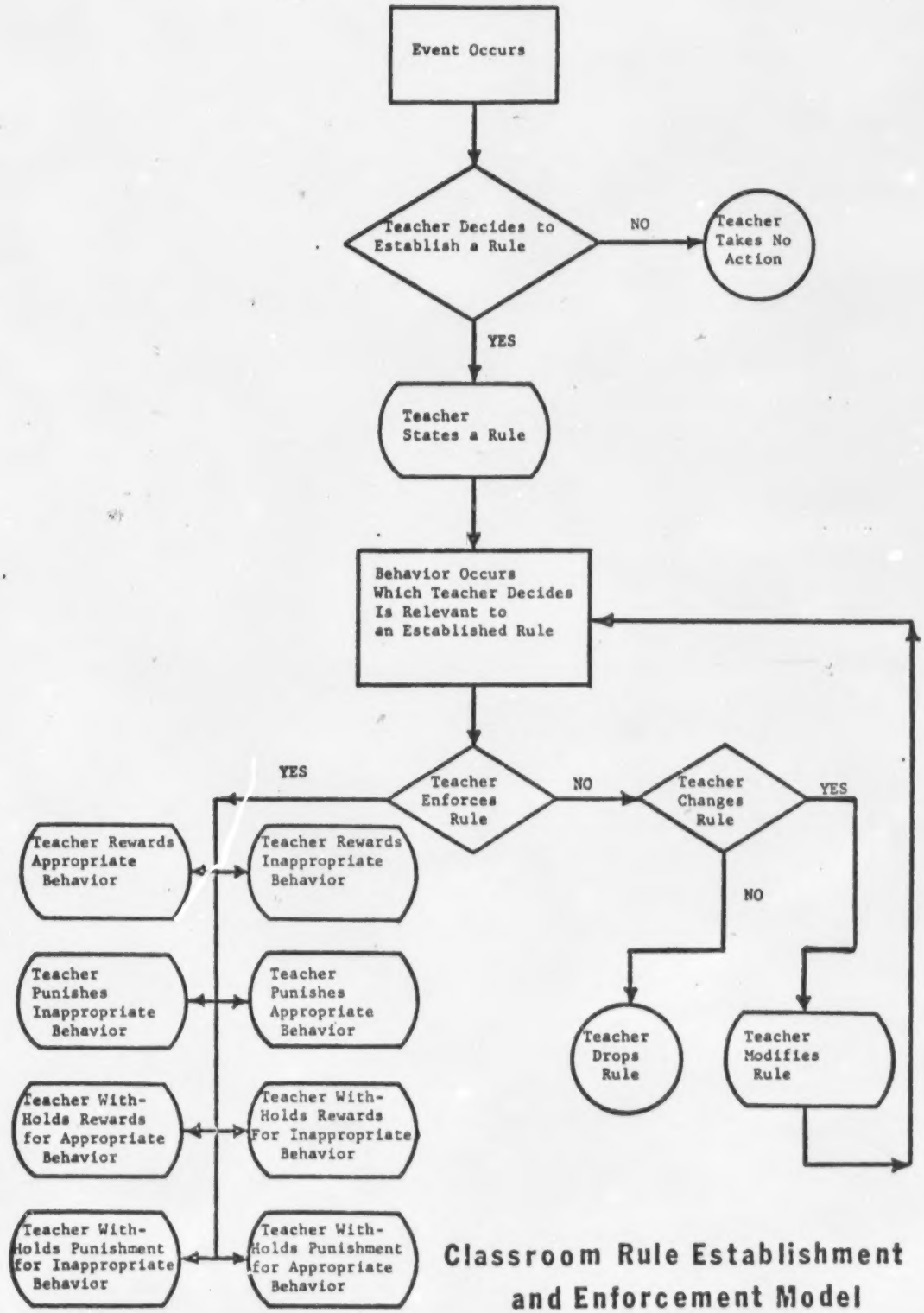
Classroom Rule Establishment and Enforcement Model

In learning to develop effective classroom management skills, it is important for a teacher to understand the process of establishing and enforcing rules. The model shown on the following page was conceived as a framework for describing the classroom management behavior of the teacher in the study. The authors believe it may be generic to all teachers.

The model consists of two major parts: teacher behaviors related to rule establishment and teacher behaviors related to rule enforcement. The first three steps of the model deal with rule establishment, and the remaining steps deal with rule enforcement, or maintenance.

Rule Establishment

The model begins with a classroom incident which calls for the establishment of a rule. In the second step in the model the teacher decides either to establish a rule or to take no action and ignore the event. In the third step the teacher decides to take action and



Classroom Rule Establishment and Enforcement Model

establishes a rule.

Rule Enforcement

The fourth step in the model is the activating event which triggers rule enforcement. "Behavior occurs which teacher decides is relevant to an established rule." If there are no further incidents of student behavior relevant to an established rule, the rule is dropped. However, if student behavior does occur, the teacher faces the decision: Should the rule be enforced?

As the right side of the model illustrates, the teacher may decide, for whatever reason, not to enforce a rule. If a decision is made not to enforce a rule, the teacher must decide whether to drop a rule or to modify it. A decision may be made to drop the rule if the teacher believes it is no longer important enough to enforce or if circumstances have changed so that the rule is no longer needed. The rule may be modified if the teacher believes situations or circumstances have changed since the original rule was established or if the original rule was inadequate in some way.

As the left side of the model illustrates, the teacher may decide to enforce a rule. If the teacher decides to enforce a rule, there are eight possible categories of teacher behaviors which can occur. These teacher behaviors may be intentional or unintentional. The point is that while any of these eight teacher behaviors may occur, the teacher is not always aware of their effect. Teachers may think that they are rewarding appropriate student behavior, when, in fact, they are rewarding inappropriate behavior. Furthermore, some of the teacher behaviors will increase the likelihood that

students will adhere to the rule, while other teacher behaviors will decrease the chances that students will adhere to the rule.

Infractions of rules may involve individual students, subgroups of students, or the entire class. The principles of behavior modification theory apply in incidents of individual and group infractions of rules. However, rule enforcement is complicated by the fact that rewards or punishments are perceived differently by each class member. Thus, teacher behaviors will not have the same effect on all class members. Each of the eight categories of teacher behavior is described in the next section of the paper and the likely effects of each category are explored.

1. The teacher may reward appropriate behavior. The teacher in the study established a rule that students must clear their desktops before proceeding to a new activity. In the initial establishment of this rule, the teacher praised individual students who were quick to adhere to the rule. She tried to use peer pressure to encourage adherence to the rule by offering a reward for cooperation by the entire class. If all the students cleared their desks quickly, depending on the time of day, the class either would be allowed to go to lunch a few minutes early, or would be allowed extra time at recess. As noted earlier, students perceive rewards or punishments differently. Students who considered going to lunch early a reward were eager to encourage other students to adhere to the rule. A majority of the students appeared to consider going to lunch early as rewarding. At least once when extra recess time was offered as a reward, one boy lagged behind the other students in clearing his

desk and did not try to earn the class "reward." Awkward in physical activities, he did not enjoy recess and was not enthusiastic about going outside.

Rewards for appropriate behavior increase the likelihood that the desired behavior will be repeated. Usually when a teacher rewards appropriate student behavior the action is a conscious one on the teacher's part. To reward appropriate student behavior is the single most powerful strategy a teacher can use to attain adherence to rules. If the teacher wishes the students to adhere to rules, prompt and frequent reinforcement should be provided for appropriate behavior while the students are learning to adhere to the rule.

2. The teacher may reward inappropriate behavior. The teacher in the study made a rule that students should raise their hands when they wanted to ask or answer a question, or make a comment. A boy who did not raise his hand was recognized by the teacher anyway. The teacher's behavior rewarded the student by giving him attention even though he behaved inappropriately. Rewards for inappropriate behavior increase the chances that the behavior will be repeated. In fact, this particular student continued to ignore the rule and did not raise his hand during the remainder of the study.

3. The teacher may punish inappropriate behavior. The student who spoke without raising his hand could have been corrected by the teacher and told to raise his hand when he wanted to be recognized. The effect of punishing inappropriate behavior is that the behavior is less likely to occur again. If student adherence to a rule is desired, punishing inappropriate behavior is consistent with that goal.

Punishment of inappropriate behavior is almost always intentional on the teacher's part.

If punishment for inappropriate behavior is to be effective, the punishment must be applied consistently. If the teacher overlooks inappropriate behavior, for whatever reason, the effect of the threatened punishment will be decreased considerably. Another consideration is the students' perception of the punishment. What the teacher judges to be a punishment may not be perceived as such by the students. Therefore, the teacher may not see a decrease in inappropriate student behavior because from the students' viewpoint a punishment is not being applied.

Another cautionary note is that punishment may eliminate undesired behavior, but it may have serious negative side effects. Sulzer and Mayer (1972) urge that once a punishment procedure is selected, it must be monitored carefully and the teacher should be prepared to handle any negative consequences that might arise.

4. <u>The teacher may punish appropriate behavior</u>. A student might raise his hand and wave it enthusiastically. The teacher may snap at the student: "Johnny, put your hand down. I see you." The teacher's tone of voice indicates annoyance. The teacher has punished the student for exhibiting appropriate behavior. The punishment decreases the chances that the student will respond in the future by raising his hand. Because raising hands for recognition is desired by the teacher, her punishment is detrimental for effective enforcement of this rule. When teachers punish students for appropriate behavior, the action is usually not intentional, for that

behavior is inimical to the long-term results that teachers seek.

5. The teacher may withhold rewards for appropriate behavior. The teacher in the study established a rule that students were not to copy from resource materials when doing creative writing or art projects. When the students refrained from copying ideas and were original in their writing or art projects, the teacher did not reward them. Behavior modification theory maintains that a powerful way to increase the likelihood that a desired behavior will be repeated is to reward that behavior. If the teacher does not reward appropriate behavior, the behavior is less likely to recur. Therefore, withholding rewards for appropriate student behavior is not desirable if the teacher wants continued student adherence to the rule. Withholding rewards when that behavior was previously rewarded can lead to extinction, or to a decreased frequency of the previously rewarded behavior.

6. The teacher may withhold rewards for inappropriate behavior. The teacher in the study promised the class that if they all worked diligently on their science assignments one afternoon, she would arrange for them to play a volleyball game with the class next door. The students were restless and spent their time during science class whispering, nudging one another, making trips to the pencil sharpener, and generally displaying little interest in science. At the close of the period the teacher announced that she was withholding the reward of playing volleyball because the students had behaved inappropriately.

Next to rewarding appropriate behavior, withholding rewards for

inappropriate behavior is the most effective strategy the teacher can use (Weber, 1977). Withholding rewards for inappropriate (or appropriate) behavior has the effect of extinguishing the behavior.

One problem the teacher faces in dealing with individual students is the reinforcing behavior of other students. The teacher may successfully withhold rewards for an individual's inappropriate behavior only to observe that other students are rewarding the offender's actions.

In similar fashion, several students may act as a unit to undermine the teacher. If the entire class has the reward of playing volleyball withheld, several class leaders may declare that they are not interested in playing volleyball anyway, thus reducing the effect of the teacher's withholding action.

It is important to have group informal norms which support and conform to the formal norms, or rules, that the teacher establishes. If the informal norms support the teacher's rules, the job of rule enforcement is greatly simplified, for the students themselves will monitor one another's behavior.

7. <u>The teacher may withhold punishment for inappropriate behavior</u>. The teacher in the study established a rule that students were not to play with toys during class time. The teacher may observe several students playing with yo-yos but not punish them. Withholding punishment for inappropriate behavior increases the chances that the inappropriate behavior will be repeated. Consequently, this lack of action on the teacher's part would be detrimental for effective rule adherence.

8. The teacher may withhold punishment for appropriate behavior. The teacher in the study said to the class one afternoon: "If each of you has your desk cleaned up by the time the bell rings, I won't keep you after school." Withholding punishment for appropriate behavior increases the likelihood that the behavior will recur. Thus, this category of behavior is effective in producing rule adherence. This is an example of negative reinforcement, the removal of an unpleasant stimulus to strengthen a particular behavior.

To summarize these eight categories of behavior: positive reinforcement and negative reinforcement (Categories 1 and 2, and 7 and 8 respectively) cause a behavior to be maintained or increased. Punishment and extinction (Categories 3 and 4, and 5 and 6, respectively) cause a behavior to decrease.

Categories 5 through 8 involve withholding either rewards or punishments. In these four categories the teacher may take no action that would be visible to an observer. When a teacher withholds a reward or a punishment the observer might conclude that the teacher is taking no action. If the teacher is conscious of the student behavior that is relevant to an established rule, then taking no action is the same as withholding either a reward or a punishment.

Questions and Issues

Do teachers tend to punish inappropriate behavior more often than they reward appropriate behavior, or vice versa? Are some categories of behavior used infrequently by teachers in classrooms? We don't know the answers to these questions. One hopes that the model will be useful to researchers who wish to conduct descriptive

studies of teachers behavior in establishing and enforcing rules.

Students in the study played an important role in determining which rules were modified, differentially applied to particular students, or inconsistently enforced. The teacher was influenced by students' acquiescence or resistance to rules. Although students never voiced any objections to the establishment of a rule, they did resist observing certain rules. When they were persistent in their nonadherence to rules, the teacher's enforcement was inconsistent.

As noted earlier in the paper, Hunt (1976) calls the influence of students on teachers "student pull." Hunt sees two basic components in teacher adaptation: "reading" the student and "flexing" or modulating according to what is read. Hunt speaks of these components in the teaching-learning process, but they seem to be present in the rule establishment and enforcement process. When the teacher tries to enforce certain rules or when circumstances warrant adherence to a rule, students may exert "student pull." The teacher may "read" the students' resistance to the rule. If the teacher "reads" this resistance as strong or persistent she may "flex" by choosing not to take a particular action, by modifying the rule, by differentially applying the rule to different students, or by dropping the rule. The effect of student pull on teacher behavior in maintaining rules is an area sorely in need of further descriptive or ethnographic research.

Summary

Classroom management, the establishment and maintenance of conditions in which instruction can take place effectively and

efficiently, is an essential element of teaching. Classroom management is prerequisite to effective instruction. Individuals who are concerned with improving teaching effectiveness need to understand the collective behavior of students because instruction normally occurs in group situations.

The purpose of this study was to describe, document, and analyze the classroom management techniques used by an elementary school teacher to establish and maintain group norms. An analysis of the data generated 15 findings regarding the establishment and maintenance of group norms. For each finding research implications have been suggested.

The model derived from the study has significant implications for teacher educators who are concerned with helping preservice and inservice teachers develop effective classroom management skills. The model provides a systematic way of analyzing the spectrum of possible behaviors which occur during rule establishment and rule enforcement. Teachers who are aware of the effect that their management behaviors may have on students should be able to make decisions which result in more effective management of the learning environment. The model has implications not only for teacher educators, but also for researchers who are concerned with the relationship between teacher behavior and student behavior, as well as the effect of student pull on teacher management behavior.

Notes

1. This study grew out of work carried out under Contract NE-C-00-3-0108 from the NIE, U. S. Dept. of HEW, at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. The views expressed in this paper are solely those of the authors. No endorsement by any of these organizations, or the principal investigator, William J. Tikunoff, is intended or should be inferred.

2. For a more detailed description of the model, see Pamela K. Buckley and James M. Cooper, "Classroom Management: A Rule Establishment and Enforcement Model" in the forthcoming March 1977 issue of The Elementary School Journal published by the University of Chicago Press.

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